

The Times-Dispatch

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TUESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1911.

THE STATES AND THE SENATE.

Shall the Constitution be amended so that United States Senators shall hereafter be elected by direct vote of the people? We hope not. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate has decided to make a favorable report on the resolution authorizing such an amendment, but it is predicted that the measure will die with the present Congress and will have to be taken up again next session.

One of the provisions of the resolution which was adopted after a rather hard fight in the Committee directs that "the times, places and manner of holding elections shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof." The New York World thinks that this provision "meets one of the most serious objections advanced against such a change," as under this provision "fear of Federal interference with State elections would disappear"; that "each State would be free to follow its own election methods"; but how and why? Each State is not left free to follow its own election methods in the election of members of the House of Representatives; why should it be left free in the election of Senators? There are now in at least one of the States of the Original Thirteen, State commissioners of election and State managers of election and Federal commissioners of election and Federal managers of election. There are in that State separate polling places and separate ballots and altogether independent machinery for the State and the Federal elections, and if such is the case as to the election of Representatives, why should it not be the case as to the election of Senators, and even more so? There would be greater reason for Federal supervision and Federal direction in the election of Senators than in the election of Representatives because of the difference, inherent and impossible to escape, in the nature and essence of the offices, the Congressmen representing the people and the Senators the States. This provision recommended by the Judiciary Committee that all the Senatorial election machinery be turned over to the States, whatever its intention, is the merest pretence and can only have the effect of obscuring the real issue which relates to the character of the office of Senator and the wise purpose for which it was created by the founders of this Government, before the curse of party spirit had begun to do its hateful work.

The question of electing Senators by direct vote of the people is not a new question; but it has vexed the country for a good many years. The objections to this method were very ably set forth by Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, in an address to the Senate in 1893, in support of a resolution submitted by him declaring the proposed amendment to the Constitution to be inexpedient because such a method of choosing Senators "will essentially change the character of the Senate as conceived by the Convention that framed the Constitution and the people who adopted it," "will transfer the seat of political power in great States, now distributed evenly over their territories, to the great cities and masses of population," "will create new temptations to fraud, corruption and other illegal practices," "will dissolve the larger States from the constitutional obligation which secures the equal representation of all the States in the Senate by providing that no State shall be deprived of that equality without its consent," "will result in the overthrow of the whole scheme of the Senate and, in the end, of the whole scheme of the National Constitution as designed and established by the framers of the Constitution and the people who adopted it."

Though dead, Senator Hoar still speaks. The objections he made to the proposed change in the Constitution, and thereby in the very nature of the office of Senator, hold good today, and will hold good so long as this is to be the well-ordered government it has been since its foundation, with the States enjoying equal representation in the Senate because of their Statehood and the people of the States enjoying representation in the House of Representatives according to their numerical strength. If Senators are to be elected by the people and for the people, population should be the basis of representation in the Senate, as well as in the House. The right of the States to representation in the Senate as political entities, being disturbed, the amendment should go further and provide that States without a certain number of people should be deprived of representation in the Senate. The object in changing the method of choosing Senators is to make the Senators more directly representative of the people, as they may be affected by the changing passions of the hour, and as there are no people to speak of in some

of the States, it would be manifestly unfair to the States having the larger populations to be placed upon a footing with such rotten boroughs as Rhode Island and such deserts as Nevada. Clearly, Montana, with less than 100,000 population, should not be given as many United States Senators as New York, with more than 2,000,000 population. Direct elections by the people should imply people.

THE NATIONAL GRAFT.

"It appears to me it is now high time that we do something for the old soldier," declared a liberal Congressman the other day on the floor of the House speaking in advocacy of the Sulloway bill, which would add just forty-five million dollars to the annual pension budget of this country. Despite the fact that three billion four hundred million dollars in pensions, and many additional millions on extra relief measures, have been expended by the Government in aid of the ex-Union soldier, this buncombe-speaking member of the House boldly asserts that it is about time that "we do something for the old soldier." It would be interesting to know what "something" is. Yes, "we" ought to do "something"; this pension graft "we" ought to check the terrible drain on the national treasury which this expenditure is causing, and make the grafters who are hiding behind a fake war record come to time.

There are few applauding echoes of what this would-be spendthrift of the public money would do for the veterans. How much more patriotic, how much more honest, was the statement of Representative Hughes, of New Jersey, who said that the forty-five million dollars a year carried by the Sulloway bill "is too big a price for the country to pay to bring me back to Congress." That hit the nail exactly on the head. These vociferous pleaders for pensions are heeding the threats of the old soldiers and playing to the galleries of the folks at home. Never was there a better manifestation of buncombe.

The press of the nation, however, is not asleep as to the gigantic graft which the pension system shelters. The Springfield Republican says: "The publication of the pension roll must be insisted upon, if the Sulloway bill should be enacted. Quite so, but why not insist on the publication of the pension roll as it now stands, honeycombed with the rankest fraud ever perpetrated for almost half a century upon any free people?"

The Philadelphia Record says, with great force:

"Of course, if the Senate follows on and passes the Sulloway pension bill, adding \$45,000,000 to yearly expenditures, without any provision of further taxation to meet added charge or to overcome existing deficit, President Taft will have no recourse but to veto the measure. It will not be fair to place him between the horns of such a dilemma."

Speaker Cannon is justly reproved by the New York Sun, which says:

"For such a blabbering speech as the Hon. Joseph G. Cannon delivered in favor of the Sulloway bill—\$45,000,000 additional pension bill—the Speaker descending from the chair to the floor of the House for that disgraceful purpose—the Hon. Joseph G. Cannon ought to be ashamed of himself."

No one questions that there are many meritorious appeals for further relief from the Government, but these are so closely interwoven with fraudulent claims that a separation of the two kinds of cases seems well-nigh impossible. The maxim, "It were better that ten guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should suffer," cannot apply to the distribution of the enormous sum proposed to be added to the already swollen amount given yearly to ex-Union soldiers. The time to call a halt has come, and we mistake greatly the sentiment of the people of the United States if they do not desire immediate checking of this stupendous drain on the public treasury.

THE GRATERS' REWARD.

Business crooks and politicians stole \$3,000,000 from the State of Pennsylvania during the erection and equipment of the new capitol at Harrisburg, seven years ago.

More than \$2,000,000 has been recovered from these graters and their estates. Every important man engaged in this theft from the public purse is in jail or in his grave. Several once being convicted and sentenced. Their disgraced families have been stripped of their ill-gotten gains in order to bring about restitution.

Graft never pays.

CATCHING THE TAX-DOGDERS.

Congressman General Dolph Jones reports that more than a million acres of land escape taxation in South Carolina because it is not shown on the tax duplicate, and cannot be put there until it has been definitely "located" in particular tax districts. Persons owning property in adjacent school districts often return all of it in the district having the lowest tax, or none, and the school districts in some of the counties have been so gerrymandered as to create districts of the most absurd and inconvenient shapes and, presumably, with the object of escaping taxation. Jones will make a report to the Legislature, now in session, insisting that this blot on the "sacredness of the blue ribbon tax-dodging State in the South be removed. If he shall succeed in his endeavor, there should be added to the taxable values of the State not less than \$2,000,000, unless all the land that has been covered up and reported belongs to the class of land originally described by the Columbia State as worth anywhere from \$5 to \$500 the acre—\$5 when it can be found and got on the tax books, and \$500 when any one wants to buy it or the owner wishes to borrow money on it from some trusting but blotted bank president.

Jones is in favor of having an accurate survey of all district lines made, so that the land can be caught, and

while he is about it he should go a step further and have a commission appointed to report to the next session of the General Assembly the tax-dodging extraordinary that the land-owners in South Carolina have been doing all these years, without anybody to molest them or make them afraid, while they have been "raising Cain" in the meanwhile about the fearful wickedness of the banks and railroads and other undesirable citizens in hiding out their plunder. In this fight, of course, the Columbia State will lead. It knows where there are thousands of acres that are returned for taxation now, and have been so returned for years, at less than a fifth of their market and actual money-making value, and with these thousands of acres as a starter, Jones and the State would be able to kindle such a fire under the land tax-dodgers as would greatly enrich the State and lighten somewhat the burden of those who have been carrying a large part of the load for years; not that they are more honest than their land-owning neighbors, but that they have not been able to hide what they have so well.

DIX AND STIMSON SHAKE HANDS.

There was a great dinner at the Lotos Club in New York Saturday night at which Governor Dix was the guest of honor. He sat on the right of the President of the Club and Henry L. Stimson sat on the left. It is reported by The Sun that "the good feeling and amiability of the dinner were further enhanced by the friendliness manifested by Mr. Dix toward Mr. Stimson and by Mr. Stimson toward Mr. Dix. While the courses were on the Governor and the man who had been his unsuccessful opponent were leaning toward each other and making jokes across President Lawrence's shirt front." That must have been an inspiring sight, to be sure, and we are glad that Rollo Ogden and Don Seitz and Sam Untermyer were there to see it.

President Lawrence was very happy, if a bit sarcastic, in presenting the Governor to his assorted audience, but the Governor was equal to the occasion and said a good many things that should have been said, and when Mr. Stimson spoke there was much applause and repeated laughter at the points he made. His concluding words were particularly fine: "Criticism you are bound to get, sir (addressing the Governor directly), but I am glad to say that so far as I am concerned that criticism will always be measured by my sense of fairness and by my personal regard for you." That was fine, very fine, and "when the Governor arose and indicated that he wanted to shake hands, the two stood for a few seconds with hands gripped while the Lotos folk cheered wildly." Of course they did; that was the psychological moment for cheering, and they met the moment like men.

We are delighted that Dix will at last have the support of Stimson, or at least that hereafter Stimson's criticism of Dix will be measured by a sense of fairness. We wish that had always been the case, during the campaign in which they were opponents as well as after the contest was over. We do not wish to thresh over any old straw; but simply for the purpose of keeping the record straight we would refer to some of the incidents of the late unpleasantness in New York. If our memory is not at fault, Mr. Stimson made certain statements about Mr. Dix in his speeches which reflected not only upon Dix's integrity of character but upon his fitness for the office of Governor of New York. So far as we know, Mr. Stimson did not withdraw his accusations when he was informed of their injustice. It really looks as if he should have said something like this to the Lotos Club Saturday night: "During the recent campaign in this State I made some statements about my opponent in the race for Governor, who is your honored guest tonight, which I have since found to have been incorrect. I wish to say here and now that, having found that I was mistaken, I seize this opportunity to express my regret for my misrepresentations of him, because I would have it clearly understood that my criticism will always be measured by my sense of fairness which my personal regard for Governor Dix would never permit me to wilfully abuse."

But it is all right; if Governor Dix was willing to shake hands with him and make jokes with him over President Lawrence's shirt front we have not the least objection; but we should like to know exactly where the line should be drawn in political discussions. We do not understand really why there should not be "party rivalry of high achievement rather than party rivalry of pettiness and dishonor." In the language of Mr. Stimson at the Lotos Club dinner, during a political campaign as well as after. Possibly Mr. Don Seitz and Dr. Rollo Ogden and Lawyer Samuel Untermyer can explain; but, as we were saying, if Governor Dix did not object to shaking hands with Mr. Stimson it is not our business to object.

PEGGING AWAY AT PEARY.

Congressman Macon, of Arkansas, who has been making the fight against the promotion of Commander Peary to the rank of Rear-Admiral and the increase of his pay, has explained that the favorable report of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, which provides for the promotion of Peary to the rank of Rear-Admiral and to pay him \$8,000 a year, was obtained by snap judgment, there being only ten of the nineteen members of the committee present when the favorable report was agreed upon, and even then the vote stood nine to one in favor of the measure. "In other words," said Mr. Macon, "when he was in Philadelphia the other day, 'but nine of the nineteen members voted to put the stamp of recognition upon Peary's exploit. There is

no reason why Congress should place the stamp of legitimacy upon his alleged discovery. Peary admitted before the committee that his compass was pointing to the magnetic pole which is 1,200 miles away from the supposed location of the North Pole. He also admitted that he took no longitudinal observations during the last 300 miles of his journey."

We suppose that Mr. Macon has no special grudge against Commander Peary, but that he simply wishes that he shall not receive high honors and increased pay for the achievement of a feat which it is by no means certain he accomplished. According to the Coast and Geodetic Survey at Washington, Commander Peary, by his own observations, missed the Pole by one mile and six-tenths. That was near enough for all practical purposes, but as no practical purposes were involved or secured, so far as the Government which Commander Peary represented has been informed, there does not seem to be any reason why Commander Peary should be made a Rear-Admiral, and certainly there is no reason why he should be paid a salary of \$8,000 the year so long as he shall live for doing something which he did not do. Many a game has been lost by a narrower margin than Commander Peary's failure to reach the Pole and the games which have been lost in this way have not been counted for the persons who lost them. We believe with Admiral Schley that both Peary and Dr. Cook reached the Pole, or as near the Pole as anybody would care to get.

A SCANDAL IN THE NAVY.

Admiral Barry has asked for immediate retirement from the Navy, and the newspapers are filled with all sorts of vague reports about the reasons which have led to this result. One of the reports in the New York World is that the officers of his flagship, the West Virginia, waited upon him in a body and demanded that he get out of the service or that he meet the charges that would be preferred against him, that it was suggested that a loaded revolver be sent to him with the sinister implication which it would carry, and that the officers have sent a report to the authorities at Washington setting forth the charges against him, although this paper was to be kept under lock and key contingent upon his resignation.

No suggestion has been made in the newspapers carrying the story as to the nature of the charges against him, although it is said that he denies that there is any foundation in fact for them. It is certain that he has asked for retirement; but it is hoped that he will withdraw his request and stand or fall after a fair trial. If he have been guilty of conduct unbecoming the service he should not be placed on the retired list, but be punished for whatever offense he has committed and be dismissed from the Navy. The retired list should be a list of honor. Besides, Admiral Barry has nothing to gain by retirement; his only chance is in meeting his accusers face to face, come what may. Better this than to suffer the disgrace which has already been fastened upon him by the newspapers.

THE DOCTRINE OF SERVICE.

When James L. Houghteling, who died recently at his home in Chicago, was a student at Yale University, "he was a man of society, a man of business, a man of the world," but the Waterbury American says that he devoted a large part of his life, after he had finished his University course, to the promotion of the St. Andrew's Brotherhood of the Episcopal Church, of which he was the founder, and through this Order "he found time and opportunity in the midst of a busy life to extend the kingdom of God in a practical way." Reflecting upon the lesson of this man's life, our Connecticut contemporary discourses upon the Men's Church Club as a means of vitalizing their interest in religious matters, of making them "feel that the Church is in some part their own"; that "it arouses a certain feeling of obligation to take part in regular Church activities, and to give to the Church some of their time and thought." This is the reason in Waterbury when the Church Club for men is very active, and it is the same way in Richmond. It is constantly holding meetings, having dinners, listening to lectures and planning for new methods by which it can be of service in the most important work that can engage the attention of men as responsible members of society. There is no cant in this sort of work. The members of these clubs do not stand on the street corners and thank God that they are better than anybody else; but, taking a wholly practical view of the world about them and with which they come in contact all the time, they act upon the conclusion that they can serve the State best by making the Church a living part of the generation in which they live.

In his matriculation address at the opening of Yale University in October, the Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., secretary and spiritual adviser, or chaplain, of the University, discussed service as the dominant purpose of education, service being, as he expressed it, "the highest goal and the only satisfying one" of the well ordered college. As Dr. Hadley, the President of Yale University, once expressed it, life should be a measure to be filled, not a cup to be drained, and it was with this idea in mind that Mr. Stokes commended to the students of Yale the preparation of themselves for honorable and useful lives by making themselves fit for substantial service to the country and to society after their college course has been run. The making of friendships during their University course should not be the main goal. There is a great deal in this, of course, but the drinking song, the gaming table, the good fellowship, all pleasant enough in their way, is not the end and

aim of intellectual existence. Knowledge also is one of the goals of education. As Mr. Stokes said, "like friendship, it is a means, not an end," and there is breadth of view and increase of power, both of which are well enough in their way, but "the man of broad culture who does not yearn to help his fellows usually becomes a dilettante, while the large-minded citizen, dominated by the service ideal, makes of his breadth a power for righteousness," and the only increase of power that comes to the college bred man worth possessing is the power for good and not the power for evil, and the larger ability and larger earning power obtained from a university course "will be time and money thrown away unless power is dominated by an altruistic ideal."

The true goal of student life is preparation for service. "This alone," as Mr. Stokes said, "guarantees that collegiate privileges will be turned to good account. Friendship, knowledge, breadth and power are good by-products, but the thing towards which this University strains every nerve is to fit each of you for a life of vital helpfulness." In order that the University student may be of most value to his fellows and of most satisfaction to himself, he must cultivate a true sense of proportion. He cannot indulge in the sensual pleasure of the moment without living to regret, with all other decent men, the sin committed. He cannot neglect his studies without realizing in time that he has thrown away his chance to make himself fit for life's work. He cannot resort to unworthy practices for securing temporary popularity without running the risk of losing the respect of his classmates. He must follow right standards which will enable him to shun the evil and uphold the good, or he will find in time that any wrong sense of proportion in his college days will make him a failure in the larger work of real life.

Mr. Stokes commended to the students of Yale religion as the inspiration to service—not mere creeds or church organizations, but the realization of "the life of God in the soul of man." Cultivating religion and laying hold of the "Christian's birthright of spiritual kinship to the Eternal God," they would find the ultimate goal in life to be to give, not to get. Religion, as Mr. Stokes argued, helps towards service mainly in two ways—first, "by making you plan your character from an eternal rather than a temporal standpoint," and second, "by holding up the objective standard of Jesus Christ."

The true test of good citizenship and good living is service. That is what the church clubs which are now so active in Richmond, as well as in Waterbury, Connecticut, are trying to encourage—the working side, not the preaching side, except as work is preaching. It is service, not ceremony. This is the complexion to which all religious work must come at last.

Last month 128,833 persons in London were receiving relief from the Poor Fund in that town. This number was 2,000 less than the number dependent upon charity in London last December. The number of those calling for relief steadily increased from 1900 up to 1909, but during the last two years the conditions have been improved, and there are fewer people now out of employment than for nearly ten years. Last month in London the number of dependents upon the Relief Fund was only about 4,000 less than the entire population of the city of Richmond. Stated in this way, the figures are appalling, but stated in another way they do not make quite so bad an impression, as according to the census of 1901 the population of London was 6,581,372, or three times the population of the entire State of Virginia.

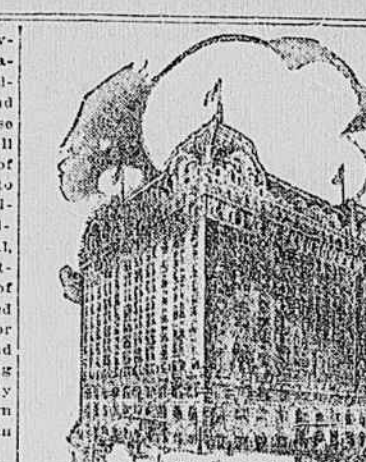
James A. Hoyt, editor of the Columbia Record, has been elected Clerk of the South Carolina House of Representatives, which goes to show that there is one political body in this country at least which knows a good thing when it sees it.

Ezra Prentice has determined to quit being chairman of the Republican State Committee of New York, and will turn over the effects of his office next Saturday. He didn't want the place when he got it, and he had a hard time with it; but he stuck to the job until he paid all the debts of the Committee, and wishes now to go back to work and make a living. We wish he would tell us before he steps down and out how it was he made up his wonderful antielection predictions.

"Abraham Lincoln Lodge" was the headline that caught our eye yesterday in the Providence Journal. At first we thought it referred to Henry Cabot Lodge, but, of course, it did not. In his distrust of the people, an impassable chasm yawns between Lodge and Lincoln, the friends of the plain people.

A very good story was told the other night, it doesn't matter where or by whom, of what Chief Justice White, of the United States Supreme Court, in conversation with one of his friends and admirers about the incidents of the Monday when a small company of men from Richmond appeared in that Court, the most impressive figure among them being Chief Justice Keith, of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. When he was told that Judge Keith had been in Court, the Chief Justice remarked something like this: "Keith should have been on this Court; this would have been the place for him."

This is the greatest day in the life of the Hon. Coleman Lillapaosa Blease, who will take the oath as Governor of the grand old State of South Carolina at Columbia. For his own sake, as well as for the sake of the Commonwealth, it is sincerely hoped that he will have a successful administration.



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